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Nakarib clan, but the clan Natchi adopted her. The Natchi people duly provided the ceremonial currency for Matarē's marriage. But Matarē considers himself a member of the Nakarib clan.

In the olden days there was another way in which a clan could acquire members by adoption. This was the case of children taken in warfare. Adult prisoners of both sexes were killed and eaten. As a reason for not keeping the women, they said it would not do for the women to be taken to live in the villages of their enemies, they would always be thinking of their old homes and would run away. But the small children, both boys and girls, were brought to the village, and brought up in the families of their captors. They were assigned to the clan of the wife of the man who captured them; she looked after them as if she were their mother. They forgot all about their former home, and if they afterwards met any of their kinsmen in another fight they did not know them and could not talk their language. The names of several people to whom this had happened were given to me, some still living in villages along the North Bougainville coast and in Buka, including that of a woman who had been captured as a girl by the man—now in later middle life—who was talking to me, when he was 'a little fellow just learning how to use an axe'.

Members of certain clans are said to be characterized by the position of the lines on the palms of their hands. The correct positions are shown in the accompanying sketches.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing palms characteristic of clans.

The first three of these were given independently in three different villages, Petata, Kurtatchi, and Saposa. That for Nagi'ai was added by Saposa only. No patterns were assigned to the other clans. It is said that a child will always have hands similar to those of his mother. I looked at the hands of a number of people, and when I

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come Wanias, *wamoa* of a new generation, son of Kakari's sister Rus. At the time of my visit Wanias was about four years old, already completely spoilt by the attention paid to him by virtue of his position.

Belonging to the original village of Kurtatchi there is a *tsunaun* lineage of the Nakarib clan. Its head had been Murian, who had died some time before my period of residence. His younger brother had died before him, so the succession passed to Siani, the eldest son of Murian's mother's younger sister. It so happened that Murian and Siani had the same father, he having married two sisters, but this had no bearing on the succession. There are no more brothers, so the office will be handed on to the *wamoa*, Matsi, the son of Murian's eldest sister. Matsi is still a small boy. The first son of his adolescent sister, Nawi, will be *wamoa* of his generation, and will one day be the heir.

I could get no information as to the origin of this difference between *tsunaun* and commoners. All discussions on the question elicited nothing but that they were *tsunaun* because they were related to people who had been *tsunaun* before them. The only information other than this was obtained from an old man at Tiop, who said that in olden times a man could be made *tsunaun* if he showed himself valiant in fighting. My visit to Tiop was brief, and I had no opportunity of checking this statement with other informants; I give his account therefore with this reservation. 'If a man had killed a great number of men, then it was decided that he should be made *tsunaun*. A raid was made on an enemy village, a prisoner was taken and brought back alive. His skin was cut until the blood flowed. The men who were already *tsunaun* washed the *tsunaun*-to-be in the prisoner's blood. This was done in the presence of all the people, so that all should know that he was *tsunaun*. The prisoner either died under this treatment or was killed, and the assembled people ate him in front of the principal house in the village. After this had been done, if the sister of the new *tsunaun* bore a child, he was *tsunaun* from birth, and so the rank was perpetuated.'

Some *tsunaun* possessed, in the olden days, authority much wider than that over their own kindred or village. This extended authority seems to be bound up with the state of sporadic warfare that existed all the time, not only between the coast people and those of the interior, but also among the coast villages themselves.

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The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Habon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tunaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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picked out from the shell, after being cooked, with a splinter of wood. The liquid in which they have been boiled (*siro*) is drunk from the pot, spooned up with a half-coco-nut shell or a mussel shell, and is much appreciated. At the end of one such meal I asked my hostess to pick out specimens of all the different kinds of shell-fish which had been in the pot; she gave me nineteen different shells, with the native name of each.

Trepang (*bêche-de-mer*) are very plentiful, but are not used as food. Melanesians are amused at the idea of their being eaten, and laugh at the Chinese for doing so. (There are several Chinese stores in this area, so they are acquainted with this habit.)

Crabs are a frequent addition to a meal; I collected the names of twenty varieties which are eaten. A large land-crab called *amo'on* is especially liked. But the robber-crab (*Birgus latro*), which Guppy (1887, p. 322) reports as being considered a luxury by the Shortland Islanders, is not eaten by the people of the north coast of Bougainville. The question did not arise while I was at Petats, but when we were discussing it at Kurtatchi, on the occasion of the game described on p. 13, my servant said that the Petats people used never to eat them in the past, but the Fijian teacher had said they were good, and now they were much liked 'because they have so much grease'. The hermit-crab (*kubar*) which is very plentiful, and takes possession of almost any shell lying about empty, is never eaten as it is considered dirty.

Turtles are sometimes to be had. They are most easily caught by visiting an island on which they have landed to lay their eggs, when they may be turned on their backs and collected at leisure. I have also several descriptions of a method of catching turtles in a net from a canoe; this involves a man diving so as to lift the creature into the canoe. They say that men sometimes meet their death in this work, by getting caught in the net and finding themselves unable to come to the surface. Turtle meat is cooked by being wrapped in packets of leaves and placed in the embers; the eggs are treated in a similar manner, and are considered a great delicacy. The turtles of this district are mostly of the variety known as 'green-backs', the shells of which are of little or no value commercially.

Crocodiles are not eaten, as a rule, but I was informed that if a crocodile kills or maims a native, and is afterwards caught, his flesh is cooked and eaten, apparently as an insult, in the same

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262 spirit as that in which a prisoner of war was eaten in the olden
[727] days. I was not able to verify this piece of information with regard to the eating of crocodiles.

I have never seen these people eating sharks, but I was told that
[538] they sometimes do, and it is referred to in some of the stories in my collection.

SUMMARY OF METHODS OF COOKING

252 The principal methods of cooking employed by these people may be listed as follows:

tsurak, to scorch meat on the outside by holding it over the flame, or laying it for a short time in a hot fire.

munmun, to roast more slowly by leaving in the embers of a smouldering fire.

moŋ, to cook in packages of leaves laid on a slow fire.

pupus, to smoke. (When partial preservation is desired for purposes of barter.)

ta'ō, to cook very slowly in an oven, i.e. a hole in the ground filled with hot stones, and covered with earth.

nosnos, to boil in water in a pot.

With the exception of their use of the water in which shell-fish have been boiled, which they drink as soup, they do not appear to employ methods involving either decoction or infusion in the preparation of their food.

DISCUSSION

146 With a view to ascertaining whether this diet fulfilled the conditions necessary to health in respect of its vitamin content, I have consulted the table given in the Medical Research Council's Report on Vitamins (published in 1932). Although of course many of the items in my list do not appear there, enough are given to show that all the vitamins are well represented. It is noteworthy that the banana, which is a very frequent constituent of their meals, is a good source of vitamins A, C, and E, contains B_1 and B_2, and is not entirely lacking in D. All the vitamins may also be obtained, in varying richness, from the different parts of the pig which are consumed. The use of citrus fruits and of the leaves of taro and other plants ensures a further supply of C, the latter also of A. Vitamin A is probably the least well represented of the more important vitamins, owing to the entire absence of milk and butter, though it is found in small quantity in the coco-nut, and perhaps

[527] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

/ // /..// /..// /..//..// /////..//

[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

/ ..... //// ..... //// ..... ////

[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

/// .....// .....// .....// .....///

9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// ..

10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

/ ..... /..... / // ..... /

11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[681] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutf* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of bread-fruit.

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to practise, cannibalism, these people never ate human flesh merely to appease hunger, or as a relish to taro, as other flesh food is eaten. There must always be some sanction behind the consumption of man. With these natives, it was done as an insult or as a punishment, or as a necessary adjunct to certain ceremonies, and the usual victims were enemies taken in war. The distinction is perhaps a subtle one, since those who have eaten human flesh freely admit that they enjoyed it, and although raids seem to have taken place for a variety of reasons, it seems not unlikely that some excuse might readily be found for undertaking one when the desire for a taste of human flesh became strong. It will be remembered that the staple diet of these folk is vegetarian, and that, at the present time, their greatest luxury in the way of food is pigmeat.

One raid was certain to be reciprocated by another, and thus was started a chain of retaliatory raids, first by one side and then by the other, till one or other party tired of it and offered ceremonial currency to compound the feud. They would then say to the other party: 'All right, let us finish now, let us be good friends now. We will come down to see you, and you will come up on top (i.e. into the mountains) to our place.' It will be noted that it is the mountain people who are represented as being the side to ask for a cessation of hostilities, the account coming from the people of a coastal village.

Pinari, *tumaun* of Kurtatchi, told me the following details of a raid in which he had taken part. He could give me no idea how long ago it was.

The people of Gogoiv (a village on Buka) killed two men, Waripa, a *tumaun*, and another man who was a commoner, while they were shooting fish from a canoe. Both men belonged to Tiop. The rest of the people were away at one of the *upi* ceremonies. The people of Tiop asked us to help avenge them. A *tumaun* from Tabut came with me, and we went and raided Gogoiv and killed a man, and took him in a canoe to Tiop, and we all ate him there in revenge for Waripa.

An account of the cooking of a prisoner was given me by an old man at Saposa who had himself taken part in such affairs.

People used to go out to fight, they would come to a village, they fight, they set fire to the village at night. They see a fine man, they kill him, they take him home and hang him up to a tree. They put paint on him and ornamental plants, they comb his hair. He stinks, but that does not matter, they eat him just the same, the fire makes him good. He stays

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hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg, and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy, had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given was 'because they were frightened'.

Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47) and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my notice.

Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as follows:

In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the relation of *watfitfio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment of both from the village.

[13] Anthropophagy

Cannibalism is not so widespread as is generally assumed. On the Shortland Islands in any case this custom has now been given up completely and no cases have been reported to me from the interior of southern Bougainville. On their war expeditions the Shortland Islanders kill everything that falls into their hands; only rarely are slaves taken. In the mountain villages of south Bougainville the slain enemies are carried to the settlement and hung up for several days in the vicinity of the taboo house. Then they take down the bodies, remove and wash the head, and then store the skull in the taboo house; the body is buried. The skulls one sees in these houses are accordingly not the skulls of relatives, but war trophies; skulls of the deceased are never kept. If you draw a line diagonally across Bougainville--say, from Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast to the deep bay that lies opposite it on the east side--then this forms approximately the border of cannibalism. North of this line signs of it are all too clear, even if the inhabitants of this area were to deny the practice, and they do not think that even this is necessary. No village is without human bones and smashed skulls, and no house lacks the jawbones of the consumed people. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait on the other hand I have never been able to find a skull or jawbone despite the most diligent search. This is all the more peculiar since, on Choiseul and the other islands situated to the southeast, cannibalism is in full sway even today. I am inclined to assume that one must ascribe it to the great influence of the deceased Gorai on Shortland that the otherwise generally common practice has become extinct there today. Years ago, coming from Buka, I had on board a number of skulls that I showed to old Gorai; I remember very distinctly with what revulsion he regarded the skulls, and he could not be persuaded to touch them. At that time I thought it only hypocrisy, but after many visits and after the most intensive investigations I have come to the conclusion that, if cannibalism ever prevailed in that particular region, the practice has disappeared today.

In Buka and north Bougainville, as has been stated, no secret is made of the fact that cannibalism still goes on. Years ago on a tour through Buka I spent the night in a hut in Hanahan on the